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wakukrá iykapeáne." That is, approximately: "Grandfather! Give me a child so that I may be able to eat with him." Then the suppliant spreads the urucú on the inside of her thighs.

Kentapí did not take that much trouble. One morning she was sitting at home against the wall, eating some food from a gourd bowl, while the sun was shining in at the door, directly in front of her feet. She set down her bowl, stretched out both palms horizontally toward the sun, like a begging child, and without getting up said in a low tone: "pa'pám! iymã iykra ñoñgõ! pa'pám iykaprẽ', marwa'té iykrí napá. Ka, iykaprẽne iymã iykrareñoñgõ, vamẽ iypa!" ("Our Father! Give me a child! Our Father, take pity on me, I am sitting here alone, eating. You, pity me, give me a child to eat with me!") On my request she subsequently repeated the words. "I wonder whether he will listen to your prayer?" I asked. "Surely," she answered, "look at Iromkré [Kentapí's younger sister], she also invoked him and is already pregnant." However, it was three years before Kentapí's prayer was fulfilled.

It is a striking fact that the girls of this tribe never have children before, and only several years after, marriage. This is regarded as normal by the Indians themselves, and the above-mentioned Iromkré, who conceived immediately after marriage, was considered exceptional. She was fifteen as a primipara, and her mother told me that she was really too young to bear children. Abortives, if used at all, are exceptional; nor, in my opinion, can the means employed to prevent menstruation be responsible for the lateness of pregnancy in the light of the earliness of sexual intercourse. For this purpose a girl will seat herself on a steppe tree the Neobrazilians call pau pombo (*Tapirira* sp.?) or drink the infusion of the scraped bark of pau candeia (*Cassia* sp.), which is also considered an abortive.

In any case Snethlage probably underestimates the age of mothers in setting that of Ramkõ'kamekra girls who already had a child at barely twelve;[88] or, possibly the child he had in mind was not the offspring of the girl with her. The youngest mother I saw was certainly Iromkré, whose age was between fourteen and fifteen.

### OLD AGE

Old people are esteemed; a junior would not venture to address them by name as though they were of his own age, but will always apply a kinship term, calling them kedti or tụ'ire (grandparent) even if there is no blood relationship. Children and young people never try to converse with their elders unsolicited; even when they have to make some communication to them, they usually remain standing before them in silence until asked to speak. In meeting old people on a narrow path, the younger ones make way to let them pass. I have never heard the frailty of old age derided or mocked. Old Krithị', though already hard of hearing and very myopic, would insist on occasionally going to the creek five to six kilometers beyond the village to try his luck as an angler. On these trips he went astray several times on the numerous trails crisscrossing the steppe and was unable to find his way home. Then his grandsons or great-nephews trotted in his wake like hunting-dogs and jubilantly led him back by the hand.

I have pointed out (p. 94) that after a period of some forty years of athletic life all men of an age class ceremonially and automatically drop out of the sports activities to enter the council, which constitutes the real governing body of the tribe since the chiefs undertake nothing without their advice. Further, I have explained by many illustrations that after any ceremonial retreat a person must present himself to this assemblage before being reckoned a full-fledged member of society again.

[88] Snethlage, Reise, 462.

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526 In the new village on the Riacho Raposa, because of the slope of the track, all kakaipúa without exception start from the eastern vụ'tẹ' house.

Relay races proceed around the boulevard, which is nearly one kilometer in length and is traversed four or five times. The teams distribute their members in the appropriate lane along the course. This type of race also starts at the challenged team's vụ'tẹ' house and always proceeds invariably toward the right side. The runner carries a wand (aikrõ're)—usually an arrow—which he passes on to the next member of his team; from the Pụkóbye I obtained a pair of pretty wooden race wands tasseled at the tip. The older girls and the women also practice relay racing, though not nearly so often as the young men. Foremost among the Rąmkõ'kamekra is a girl barely thirteen years old named Kopkré. Once she ran three times round the boulevard without once passing on her wand, yet remaining far ahead of the racers of the opposing team.

*Archery.*—I have never seen competitive target practice; but there are two other games with bow and arrow, krũatak and watotẽ'k.

The former is rather a boys' game than one for adults. On as level a course as possible the competitors shoot off their arrows so that they glide along the ground. Whoever shoots his arrow farthest wins all the other players' arrows. Little boys indulge in this pastime on any road, youths on the radial path of their vụ'tẹ' house.

In watotẽ'k an obstacle is erected about four meters away from the archer, who shoots his arrow at it with full force, so that it rebounds, rising in a curved trajectory, and lands far away. In this game, too, the player who makes his missile go farthest wins the arrows overtaken. The obstacle is either a bundle of palm leaves or a small mound. In the great ricochet shooting contest of the pepkahą'k (p. 219) a wooden lath was attached on top of the mound by means of two staves piercing it. In 1936 the close of tepyarkwá was followed by a contest of this order, with an obstacle formed of a horizontal cord stretched between two poles. The players ardently and uninterruptedly indulged in the game all morning so that, notwithstanding the cord wrapped around for a wristguard, several of them had blood dripping from the left wrist, as well as from the index and middle fingers, between which the arrow is released.

*Sham fights.*—A rather dangerous game, which figures in the Kre'pụ'mkateye myth of the sun and the moon, was confined to experienced warriors, one of whom would challenge his fellows to shoot at him with sharp arrows. He would win all the arrows that missed him. I saw something of the sort only on two special occasions.

527 [888] In the first case the councilors had decided on awarding a ceremonial lance (pl. 31) to one Nyõhí in recognition of his retaining the memory of many old chants forgotten by the others. The bestowal took the following form: At the time of the morning bath the men of the eastern age-class moiety assembled at the village spring, armed with clubs and three of them with ceremonial lances, krowačwa. At the same time the members of the complementary moiety, to which Nyõhí belonged, met in the plaza, armed with arrows topped with grass balls. When the eastern group appeared and halted at the northern entrance to the village, the westerners began to dance, defiantly brandishing their weapons. Three times the two factions advanced toward each other and retreated. Suddenly from among the eastern group there darted a warrior decorated with black paint—the celebrated racer Čą're, who was carrying a handsomely feathered ceremonial lance. At once the opposing group began to shoot at him, but he ran right into their midst, dexterously eluding their arrows by zigzag leaps so that but a single one so much as lightly grazed him. The easterners now also proceeded toward the plaza, where the two

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the body. In order to recover from the exertion of a log race the runners refresh themselves with an infusion of the roots of either the graminaceous ha'túre or of another plant called poyarkwáka.

In this empirical application of remedies religion is involved only so far as prolonged, but unsuccessful, experimentation is generally followed by a consultation of the spirits either directly or through a medicine-man. If the latter's experience has not yet taught him what medicine the spirits would recommend in a given case, he will seek them out in the woods of a night in order to receive instructions. However, in nearly all cases of grave illness the patient himself attempts to establish contact with the spirits of his ancestors and to learn the proper medicine from them. This procedure, however, involves strict seclusion: the bed is surrounded with mat screens, the patient observes a diet, uses a scratching stick, and abstains from conversation with anyone. Only by following these rules can he hope to see in his dreams the persons he is seeking. He must further preserve complete silence as to his communication with them.

The medicine-men may apply methods besides the above-mentioned infusions and charcoal rubbings. I have several times seen Chief Hąktõkót, possibly the most powerful medicine-man of his tribe, sucking disease out of a patient's body; or, more precisely, *heard* him, for his treatment was always shrouded in darkness and became perceptible only through a horrible sipping sound. The doctor never exhibits the extracted object, for it would strike the spectator with blindness. In the Yawę myth the hero, after becoming a medicine-man by contact with spirits, kneads out of his brother-in-law's body the head of a paca which had entered it because the man had eaten food with blood-stained fingers. Others are said to remove sickness with their hands and to throw it away in the direction of the wind. Blowing on the body also occurs for remedial purposes.

The doctor is compensated only for successful treatment.

Against the epidemics brought in by the Neobrazilians—smallpox, measles, the grippe—the Canella admittedly lack remedies individually applicable. From the Neobrazilians they have adopted smoking the house with a burnt cow horn against epidemics generically. Another loan from this source, against measles, is a decoction of weathered dog excrements to be drunk by the patient, whose treatment is completed with Indian remedies, his body being smeared with the grated leaf-shoots of the paty palm, over which they spread the milky juice of a *Sapium* species, finally rubbing in pulverized charcoal.

When in dread of an epidemic the entire village is subjected to a collective cure in the plaza. In such circumstances Hąktõkót walked around the assembled throng, smoking from a funnel of paty-palm leaflets and waving away the disease with his hands. When the smallpox broke out in 1935, the people made a fire in the plaza, threw quantities of green sucupira twigs into it, and exposed themselves to the dense, white smoke. Then the medicine-man, holding a bunch of twigs of this tree, spread his legs wide apart, whereupon all the villagers, male and female, irrespective of age, had to crawl on all fours between his legs, receiving a few lashes on their backs with the twigs.

Another means of arresting the epidemic is to set up a staff from the rib of a bacaba palm leaf on the road by which the disease is expected to approach the village.

A few words may be injected on the supposed killing of old and sick people. Canella tradition does not mention the custom. In myth, Yawę' when hopelessly sick is abandoned by his tribe when it shifts its settlement, but is provided with water and food, and after a while the people call in order to look after him. Accord-

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888 ing to Ribeiro[m] the starving Rąmkõ'kamekra, succumbing to the smallpox and pursued by Neobrazilians, killed their sick:

Qualquer dos que enfermava durante suas marches, deitava-se no chão pondo por cabeceira uma pedra, e punham-lhe então os amigos e parentes outra grande pedra na cabeça com a qual lh'a esmagavam, e o deixavam alli descansando e livre das suas dores: este fim teve o maioral Tempé com todos os outros gentios seus mais notaveis collegas.

[134] (Whoever fell sick on their marches lay down on the ground with a rock for a headrest, then his friends or relatives took another large rock with which they smashed his head, letting him rest there free from his pains. This was the end of Chief Tempé [error? cf. p. 32 f.] and all the other Indians who were his foremost companions.)

However, this took place in a situation more desperate than any known to the tribe before or after, hence does not prove the customary killing of the sick. Another case cited by Ribeiro[m] relates to the Gamella of Vianna, hence is irrelevant.

888 Snethlage quotes a tale heard "von einem durchaus zuverlässigen Farmbesitzer"
114 to the effect that one day a Rąmkõ'kamekra left his work to go home and kill his father, who was too weak to remain alive. The story seems hardly credible; even "if the intention was a reality, the Indian is not likely to have ostentatiously informed his Neobrazilian employer of it."[m]

### Snake Shamans

755 Kwųikõ', a man of about forty-five, has the reputation of having special relations
756 with snakes, communicating with them clandestinely, and owning remedies against snake bites. He is generally regarded with fear and mistrust. People may not seek his friendship, but at least they try not to incur his enmity; the majority, I believe, would be afraid to deny him a request lest he take it in ill part and send a poisonous snake to meet them. Kwųikõ' rather unscrupulously exploits this attitude, imposing on his tribesmen all sorts of transactions with him that always result to their disadvantage. Though for a long time aware that he neither keeps a promise nor sticks to a bargain, they lack the courage to refuse doing business with him.

123 He applied the same technique to me on learning of my interest in his knowledge,
752 offering me in exchange an object he did not possess, demanding prior payment, which he received, and then regarding the matter as settled. When I demanded the return of the payment, he obeyed without protest, smiling his peculiar sweetish smile. Kentapí, who had urgently tried to dissuade me, was most upset by my procedure: Kwųikõ' was sure to take revenge; and when I said that was precisely what I should like to see, she added that if he failed he would take it out on her. Because of his sneaky conduct and unscrupulous mendacity I was unable to learn details as to his intercourse with the venomous snakes.

755 During my stay I saw him professionally active on only three occasions. The first time he called me to witness the act. A fortnight before my arrival a snake had bitten an Indian in the leg. He was seated on a racing log behind the house, with his leg extended. Kwųikõ' knelt before him and sucked out of the injured spot, which was still swollen, the "snake poison" still inside. A boy of about ten, the shaman's disciple, was standing beside him. After a while he rose, expectorated the "poison" into his hand, and put it into his pupil's mouth to be swallowed. The boy obviously had a horror of it and after several unsuccessful efforts he pushed the "poison" out of his mouth with his tongue. I forestalled the shaman by immedi-
[123] ately removing it from his lips and at once recognized it as a bit of pink paper such as I was using to write on.

[m] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 60. [m] *Ibid.*, § 24. [m] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 196.